MIDDLE EAST AND SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

1 SEPTEMBER 1982

Israel

IDF radio declared that Israeli political sources regard the message from U.S. President Ronald Reagan to Israeli Prime Minister Menahem Begin as a "total deviation" from the Camp David accords. According to the radio, the message called for linking Jordan with occupied Israeli territories and objected to expanding existing settlements or establishing new ones. The radio revealed that Jerusalem political sources reacted "sharply" to the Reagan message, saying Israel will undoubtedly reject its contents. The sources expressed surprise at the timing and severity of the message and one Cabinet source cited by the radio asserted that the plan is "negative and most serious." The Cabinet will discuss this matter in a special session on 2 September with Prime Minister Begin, Jerusalem radio announced.

Lebanon

PLO Evacuation Continues -- Two ships left Beirut port on 31 August carrying 600 PLO fighters to Syria and over 400 fighters to the YAR, Beirut radio reports declared.

Political, Security Situation -- Speaking at a press conference, reported by Beirut radio, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan reiterated the demand for Israel to withdraw its forces from Beirut and from Lebanon as a whole. Al-Wazzan asserted that Syria's security is part of Lebanon's security and that clashes between Syria and Israel would cease with the departure of the Israelis. The Syrian presence in Lebanon, he said, is entirely different from the Israeli "invasion of occupation." Al-Wazzan stressed that Lebanese sovereignty demands the removal of illegitimate military groups from all of Lebanon and insisted that dealing with the Leftist Independent Nasirite Al-Murabitun militia is an internal Lebanese affair.

During a visit to Beirut, Israeli Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon made it clear that the Lebanese Army, and not the IDF, should evacuate the Al-Murabitun militia from Beirut, Jerusalem radio said. According to a Lebanese paper cited by Monte Carlo radio, Israel demanded that heavy weapons left by the PLO be handed over to the Lebanese Army this week.

Military Situation -- Israeli Defense Minister Sharon told correspondents in Nahariyya that Israel has no desire or intention to fight Syria and he hoped that the incident of the downed Syrian MiG was an "isolated violation," Jerusalem radio reported. Voice of Lebanon radio claimed that reports indicated Soviet experts have toured the Al-Biqa' Valley to inspect SAM batteries. Meanwhile, the radio alleged that in west Beirut, Palestinians and Syrian soldiers have joined and are wearing uniforms of the Al-Murabitun; the radio also said that Al-Murabitun tanks and artillery are positioned in various areas. Reopening Beirut International Airport may be postponed indefinitely due to conditions set by Israel, the radio noted.

Syria on PLO -- In an interview with the German magazine STERN cited by DPA, Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad declared that PLO fighters in Syria will have "complete freedom" and will be able to use Syrian weapons if necessary.

Inter-Arab Affairs

King Husayn on USSR -- Jordan's King Husayn asserted that the Soviet position on the Middle East situation is "firm and clear" and has not changed. In an interview with the Soviet paper LITERATURNAYA GAZETA cited by TASS, Husayn said it is in the U.S. interest to welcome Soviet participation in the peace process and to convene an international conference for this purpose as the Soviets have suggested. He emphasized that the Israeli view that a Palestinian state can be formed in Jordan is wrong and "clashes with common sense."

Jordan's Husayn in Iraq, Saudi Arabia -- Amman reported that Jordan's King Husayn left for Baghdad to discuss Arab affairs and the upcoming Arab summit conference. INA confirmed the king had arrived on an official visit and held talks with Iraqi President Saddam Husayn on the Arab situation and the Iran-Iraq war. Later, King Husayn went to Jidda and was welcomed by Saudi King Fahd, SPA revealed.

King Fahd Stance, Libyan Reaction -- Addressing a Cabinet session on 30 August, Saudi King Fahd said that the Lebanese war resulted in a new phase in the Arab-Israeli conflict, demanding new concepts and methods. According to SPA, he went on to say that Saudi Arabia calls for joint Arab action but without insisting on any specific plan or idea. He appealed for new political thinking in the Arab world through confidence and concord. Commenting on this speech, JANA criticized his "capitulationist" strategy as meaningless and claimed this "plan of treason" will be forced on the Arab summit.

Fes Summit Attendance -- Although the Moroccan king insisted that Lebanese President Ilyas Sarkis and President-elect Bashir al-Jumayyil attend the upcoming Fes Arab summit conference, Sarkis requested a postponement of the summit for 1 month until the Al-Jumayyil presidency is established, Voice of Lebanon revealed. Meanwhile, Fatah Central Committee member Salah Khalaf declared the PLO will only attend the summit if Egypt is not a participant, the Fahd plan is not submitted and Al-Jumayyil is not received, Tripoli radio claimed.

Iran-Iraq War

In an address at a military parade in Mashhad carried by Tehran radio, President 'Ali Khamene'i insisted that force must be used against the Iraqis because they understand nothing else. He added that the situation at the warfronts is very good and stressed that Iran would push the Iraqis back "as far as it takes" to secure Iranian citizens living near the border with Iraq.

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CASTRO MESSAGE ON NONALIGNED SUMMIT VENUE CITED

BK311701 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Current Chairman of the Nonaligned Movement President Castro of Cuba has said there is a consensus on holding the next nonaligned summit in New Delhi. Dr Castro said that Iraq, which was to host the conference in Baghdad, has now agreed to the change in the venue.

A spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry confirmed in New Delhi today that India is in receipt of the Cuban communication.

An agency report from the United Nations says that Dr Castro has sent letters to this effect to heads of government of nonaligned countries.

IRAQI MINISTER DEPARTS AFTER DELIVERING MESSAGE

BK010238 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Iraq Hamid 'Alwan called on Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi in New Delhi today. 'Alwan, who arrived last evening as a special envoy of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, delivered a message from Husayn to Mrs Gandhi. 'Alwan later left New Delhi. He was seen off at the airport by External Affairs Minister Narasimha Rao.

CHANGE IN FRENCH STAND ON NUCLEAR FUEL SCORED

BK311428 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Aug 82 p 8

[Editorial: "French Volte Face"]

[Text] Regrettably, the amicable settlement of the vexed issues of fuel for the Tarapur plant with the Reagan administration is in danger of coming unstuck. The main responsibility for this unfortunate development lies on France, which had agreed to take over from the U.S. the obligation to supply enriched uranium until 1993 when the Indo-U.S. agreement on Tarapur expires. While doing so, France had clearly stated that it would accept the responsibility on the basis of the existing safeguards agreed upon by India, the U.S. and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) trilaterally. This assurance was reaffirmed most unambiguously by the French foreign minister, Mr Claude Cheysson, on a visit to New Delhi only the other day. And yet France has suddenly and sharply changed its position.

In a note to the External Affairs Ministry, it has demanded that India should negotiate a fresh agreement with IAEA. Since the IAEA, in cooperation with the London club of nuclear suppliers, has worked out a standard safeguards system to cover all transactions in nuclear equipment and materials, the implication clearly is that the supply of French fuel can begin only if this country accepts safeguards which are far more restrictive and stringent than those applying to Tarapur at present. For one thing, there will be a pursuit clause which means that any nuclear facility where any by-product of Tarapur is used, however remotely, will automatically come under the IAEA safeguards. For another, the new safeguards will remain in force in perpetuity while the existing ones are due to lapse with the expiry of the Indo-U.S. agreement in 1993.

For well over four years, India has resisted U.S. pressure to accept the so-called full-scope safeguards as the price for continued supplies of enriched uranium. The main merit of the Indo-U.S.-French deal was that it offered a way out of the impasse without forcing either this country or the United States to abandon its basic position on safeguards. All this has now been endangered by the French volte face. The reasons for it remain obscure. But it seems a safe bet that the French have acted under pressure from the IAEA or the London club or the United States or all the three.

In any case, whatever the French motivation, Paris must know that New Delhi will not accept from it the kind of demands that successive Indian governments have rejected from the U.S. Appropriately New Delhi has put Washington on notice that the primary responsibility for implementing the understanding on Tarapur rests with the latter.

If this approach proves ineffective, this country will have every right to terminate the Indo-U.S. agreement and run Tarapur on the basis of the indigenously developed mox fuel cycle.

EXPRESS NOTES 'DANGER' ASSOCIATED WITH U.S. AID

BK311652 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 27 Aug 82 p 6

[Article by J.D. Sethi: "A Beggar's Choice"]

[Text] The dazzling impressions (in India, not in the U.S.) of Mrs Gandhi's visit to the U.S. are wearing out. It is a pity that the Indo-U.S. accord to bring in France as a third party to supply fuel to Tarapur and the well-planned change in "atmospherics" in order to remove the so-called mutual misperceptions have monopolised public attention. It appears that the economic compulsions that formed the dark backdrop to Mrs Gandhi's volte-face on her American policy were deliberately subdued.

Whether or not the visit was a success will depend upon the follow-up action and events and that will not take very long. Already the French draft on the nuclear fuel supply has revealed that India has been doubly trapped.

The memory of the Indian people is very short. They have forgotten several equally glamorous and dramatic visits of Mrs Gandhi in the recent past to Saudi Arabia, Cancun, Australia, France, UK, etc. No one has asked what happened subsequent to those visits. All the visits were directly or indirectly connected with economic issues which the South Block (site of Indian Foreign Office] bureaucracy is not equipped to handle. It seems as if those visits never took place. The same may be the fate of her U.S. visit or worse.

Policy Changes

A test of the attempts to improve relations between the two countries in the aftermath of Mrs Gandhi's visit will come at the World Bank's meeting in early September. India is asking for loans for several projects on which the U.S. has not yet firmed up its position. India is also asking for a large loan for the ONGC [Oil and Natural Gas Commission]. In the past the U.S. has always tended to oppose the activities connected with oil development. The Reagan administration has taken an even tougher line than the Carter administration. Maybe some arrangement is ultimately arrived at by means of which the World Bank and the private banks might together finance the ONGC projects. But that itself would be an indication, if one goes by the U.S.-IMF-IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development] conditionality, of India's new economic dependence on the U.S. and the international agencies as modifications of India's domestic policies to suit the donors.

Strangely, no one has analysed the economics of Mrs Gandhi's visit. When she returned to power in 1980, the foreign debt of India was of the order of Rs 10,000 crore. On March 1982, it stood at Rs 14,500 crore. Taking into account the IMF loan and other aid as well as market borrowings at very high interest, the total debt will go up to Rs 20,000 crore in about a year or so from now. On this the annual repayment obligation on account of interest etc., will be over two billion dollars as against less than one billion last year.

Trade Deficit

Currently, the balance of trade deficit is running at the rate of seven billion dollars. Given the global recession, uncompetitiveness of our exports, domestic supply constraints and, above all, new liberal import policy, the deficit is projected to go up to nine billion dollars by March 1984. India will have to find at that time and subsequently at least 11 billion dollars or more in order not to go bankrupt. The U.S. knows that India has no other option and she will be obliged to seek direct or indirect U.S. aid, and that will be the time to apply an economic and political squeeze.

The other two disturbing factors are the total disappearance of OPEC surpluses and a decline in their domestic investment. The first endangers India's hope of getting a big loan either directly from the OPEC or indirectly from the Asian Development Bank in which the OPEC was to make a large contribution. The second threatens remittances from Indians working in those countries.

Earlier optimistic estimates about oil have gone away. Mr Shiv Shankar recently told the consultative committee attached to his ministry [Petroleum Ministry] that the oil bill for 1982-83 will be substantially higher than anticipated earlier. According to the latest estimate, the government will have to import about 15.4 million tonnes of crude oil and 6.13 million tonnes of petroleum products. The earlier anticipation was that the country would be able to manage with 12 million tonnes of crude and four million tonnes of petroleum products because of the expected increase in indigenous production, or decline in the rate of increase in consumption.

The government has not yet given out the position of foreign exchange reserves, but according to a reliable source a sharp decline has been registered in the first quarter of 1982 despite IMF loans coming in the wake of a continuous decline over the last two years. Since the trend of internal remittances is also not very encouraging, India will soon reach a position requiring it to borrow to pay back loans. It may have to ask for rescheduling of loans in 1984 or go back to the IMF for another loan.

We are told that Mrs Gandhi has evoked a responsive chord in the World Bank president about the soft loan ODA [expansion unknown] window as well as Mr Claussen's more promising response on other aid matters. Mrs Gandhi tried to persuade President Reagan to begin the North-South dialogue. All this is pure speculation. Probably all that New Delhi can hope to get is extra 400 million dollars under IDA [International Development Agency] and the energy programme. Beyond that India will have to run the gauntlet of both the U.S. administration and Congress as well as the international agencies.

Loss of Independence

All this may not point to an emerging sell-out but there are signs of loss of independence. Import liberalisation, credit squeeze, a change in industrial policy that favours foreign capital and domestic big business against small industry has created difficult conditions for the economy. Strains on the balance of payments have appeared rather too soon.

Most projections for the next decade for the developed world show that there is going to be stagnation or very modest improvement. Unemployment will be pretty high but the rate of inflation may go down or remain constant. In such a situation, to pin hope on export promotion is rather dangerous. This does not mean that efforts should not be made to retain old markets or capture the new ones or that product differentiation should not continue. What it implies is that there is likelihood of any major breakthrough in our exports unless there is a massive restructuring of our industrial system towards export-led growth. And this is what seems to have crept into our industrial policy. But creeping changes will not do. The U.S.-IMF-bank combine wants a more rapid change.

U.S. Leverage

The creeping Reaganomics into our industrial policy along with the balance of payments difficulties will improve Wasington's leverage with Mrs Gandhi. Some believe that this leverage may be used to influence India's Soviet policy. The real danger is that the U.S. may use her newly acquired economic leverage with India for political purposes. Washington will certainly attempt to break down India's opposition to the U.S. military presence in the Indian Ocean. That presence has assumed the utmost significance in view of disturbed conditions in West Asia. It is very intriguing that Mrs Gandhi did not refer at all to Diego Garcia in any of her public pronouncements made during her visit. Washington may also try to knock India and Pakistan together under its own aegis. The consequences of this would be quite opposite to those if India and Pakistan were to become friends on their own. Washington's aim is to acquire military bases in Pakistan and that, in turn, requires an accord between India and Pakistan on American terms.

India has certainly entered a more dangerous phase in her external relations. Not only are military build-ups taking place on oceans and on the land around us, but the economic constraints and balance of payments difficulties are so serious that there may hardly be any option left if Mrs Gandhi continues to pursue her old strategy of weakening domestic institutions while opening up India to international bankers in the name of liberalisation.

'HIGH-LEVEL' TALKS WITH U.S. TO CONTINUE

BK310451 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] India and the United States will hold high-level talks later this year on bilateral matters. The charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy, (M.V. Quickmore), has said that this is one of the important outcomes of Mrs Gandhi's visit to his country. He was speaking at a symposium on Indo-U.S. relations organized by the Indian council of world affairs in New Delhi last evening.

Those who spoke at the seminar expressed the view that Mrs Gandhi's visit has impressed upon the two countries the need to forge closer relations for mutual advantage. The function was presided over by Y.B. Chavan, chairman of the eighth finance commission.

FINANCE MINISTER LEAVES FOR UK, CANADA, U.S.

BK290926 Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee left New Delhi for London today to attend the Commonwealth finance ministers conference beginning tomorrow. From London, Mukherjee will go to Toronto to attend the annual meeting of the IMF and the World Bank. The global economic situation will be a major topic for discussion at the meeting. Mukherjee will also go to Washington before returning to New Delhi on the 12th of next month.

BRIEFS

JAPANESE LOAN -- Japan has given concessional loan worth over 1.26 billion rupees to India for four projects. The loan is the part of Japan's contribution to the Aid India consortium commitment made in Paris in June 1982. Japan has also extended a grant worth more than 1.7 million rupees to promote culture. The notes on the concessional loan and grant were exchanged in New Delhi on 28 August between the visiting Japanese Foreign Minister Sakurauchi and Finance Minister Pranab Mukherjee. [Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 28 Aug 82 BK]

JAPAN'S SAKURAUCHI CONTINUES TALKS IN ISLAMABAD

Meets With Yaqub Khan

BK311600 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi held talks with Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan in Islamabad today. They assessed bilateral cooperation in economic and cultural fields and exchanged views on important regional and international issues, including the situation arising from foreign military intervention in Afghanistan, Israeli aggression in Lebanon and the Iran-Iraq war.

The Pakistani foreign minister was assisted in the talks by Foreign Secretary Niaz A. Naik and other senior officials, while the Japanese foreign minister was assisted by his delegation members.

Calls on Haq

BK010757 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Japanese Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi called on President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Rawalpindi this afternoon. He exchanged views with the president on bilateral relations and matters of mutual interest. They discussed important developments in West Asia with emphasis on the Middle East situation and the developments resulting out of the blatant Israeli aggression against Lebanon. They also discussed the implications of the Iran-Iraq war and the situation in Afghanistan.

The president reiterated Pakistan's conviction and determination to promote a peaceful solution of the Afghanistan issue. He also took the opportunity to thank the Japanese Government for extending political and moral support regarding Afghanistan and the economic assistance provided for the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Bilateral relations were also discussed with emphasis on further extending and strengthening economic cooperation between the two countries. The president thanked the Japanese Government for providing economic assistance to Pakistan in the past and at present which he said has contributed a lot in the economic and social development of the country.

The Japanese foreign minister conveyed an invitation on behalf of his government to the president to visit Japan some time next year. The invitation was accepted by the president. Details of the visit will be finalized through diplomatic channels.

Also present on the occasion were Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan and Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan.

Later, the president hosted a dinner in honor of the Japanese foreign minister.

JAPANESE DELEGATION VISITS AFGHAN REFUGEES

BK271151 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1005 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Text] The Japanese parliamentary delegation now in Pakistan visited an Afghan refugees tented village near Peshawar today. The delegation comprises (Abdul 'Aziz Jichchu Inazaki), the director of the Japanese Foreign Affairs Committee and also chairman of the Japanese parliamentary committee for Afghan refugees and (Khanju). Talking to the refugees (Abdul 'Azai Jichchu Inazaki) said that his country is providing maximum possible assistance to the Afghan refugees. He said on return home, he would try to convey their feelings to the Japanese people.

An elder of the Afghan refugees explained the circumstances which forced them to leave their hearths and homes in Afghanistan and seek shelter in Pakistan following the Soviet Union's intervention.

KHOMEYNI URGES OFFICIALS NOT TO LEAVE FOR HAJJ

GF311726 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Speech by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni to Majlis speaker and deputies, commanders of the Revolution Guards Corps, Paveh and Uramanat ulema, Ayatollah Musavi-Tabrizi, Foreign Minister Velayati and others at Hoseyniyeh Jamaran on 31 August -- recorded, duration 45 minutes]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. I in turn congratulate the gentlemen on the occasion of this happy occasion and hope that the Almighty gives His blessings on these occasions to the Muslims and the noble Iranian nation, [crowd chant indistinct] and makes the oppressed of the world victorious over the oppressors. Such a day will be a great and auspicious occasion and I hope that such a day will come. I would like to say the foundation of these problems humanity is faced with -- from the day of Adam until now and from now until the day of the reckoning -- the basis of all corruption, wars, injustice and aggression, is the psyche. The psyche and selfishness have aspects that, if you observe, have brought misfortune to humanity.

It is because of selfishness that the leaders of the Islamic countries remain indifferent to the criminal acts committed by these powers and their lackeys. If this selfishness was not present among the leaders of the Islamic countries, if they did not desire power and position, then they would not sit and watch all these calamities, all this injustice which has occurred in Iran and, worse than in Iran, in Lebanon. They are all afraid that this imaginary power -- I must say it has no value -- will be taken away from them and because of this, they reacted to the United States and, worse still, to Israel in that manner. Nowadays, all the efforts in the Islamic countries are concentrated on official recognition of Israel and on strengthening the Camp David accords. If there was no desire for a few days of rule and leadership, then any human would realize that such as Israel should behave so in the land of the Muslims and so boldly belittle everyone. [sentence as heard]

There is such a disgrace on the face of these Islamic countries that nothing can erase it unless they pay attention and change. The disgrace of all these countries is that they help Saddam, knowing they are doing wrong, so that Saddam can destroy the Islam which, God willing, is rooting in Iran. [crowd chant of "God willing"] They all concentrate their efforts on this. Some openly say so, others deny this and lie. If there was no desire for position, which is the legacy of Satan that resulted in his banishment for such a trait.... He considered himself higher than Adam, he considered himself fire and Adam clay and did not realize the shining [nature] of Adam and was thus banished. He then swore to banish all -- that is, all humanity. Now he is succeeding against all the prophets.

The attack by Saddam against Iran, as everyone knows, was because he wanted to become the champion of Al-Qadisiyah and such issues. The attack by Israel against Lebanon in full view of the Muslims of the region and their governments, as all know, was for the sake of position and power. The same goes for the United States and other powers.

It is the Satanic nature among the powerful people which makes them so bold, and it is this same nature which makes others bow to such powerful ones, even though they have the capability to stand up to them. It was the Satanic nature that caused Satan to clash with Adam; hence, he was banished and did not hear the Almighty's decree.

Among these so-called Islamic governments, the heads of these governments have this illness. If they had taken steps to lessen the desire for rule, or had they been able to eradicate it, then it would have been impossible for them to remain indifferent and accept humiliation this way.

There is a time when the United States or the Soviet Union predominate and another when Israel does. Israel today is becoming the archruler of these Islamic lands and should this indifference, this help and the effort to officially recognize Israel reach its conclusion, then Israel will become their archruler and will expand and root the humiliation it dealt to them on the order of the United States. It has been noted repeatedly that Israel will not be satisfied with its lot and will march a step at a time. At each step it takes it says: There is nothing else [we want]; this is it. And then it takes another step the following day. Today Lebanon, God forbid, tomorrow Syria and then Iraq and so on.

Unfortunately, these governments, instead of rising and uniting to stop this inhuman person [as heard], did not even criticize it. Even now they are trying to officially recognize it. This is a humiliating mark against everyone in the Islamic countries, against their leaders and against the people of these countries who have allowed their leaders to stay in their positions so that they can do what they will and bring humiliation to Islam and Muslims. Where should we take such calamities?

They forced us into war with Iraq. They plotted so that we would [fight] Israel so that Iraq could be strengthened and then Iraq and Israel could come after us. We recognized the plot and the gentlemen who are in charge noticed and said: We have to go this way. Had we gone that way, then our current position in relation to Iraq would be different. Israel would have picked at us after Iraq [finished].

The Iranian nation's behavior so far and its latest political victory are worthy matters. Saddam did his utmost to gather the heads of the nonaligned nations in Baghdad. This Islamic Republic, this Islamic power in this corner of the world was the reason the leaders of these nations refused Saddam. Then he shamelessly said: To maintain Islamic unity, I give up; but let us have the foreign ministers here.

He did his best in that regard and sent his servants begging everywhere, but again he announced: For the sake of the unity of Muslims, we will forgo this as well. I think we should go to hell for the sake of the unity of Muslims. [crowd laughter followed by chants of "God is great, Khomeyni is the leader," "Death to the counterrevolutionaries and (?liberals)," "(?Down with the United States)"]

Those who form the bases for disagreement among Muslims, one of them being Saddam who is the base of the disagreement...Iran never had any disagreement or fight with any country except with those who want to harm Iran. Saddam's foolish attack against Iran caused many of the governments of the region to oppose Iran, that is, Islam. They will gradually realize it is not to their benefit to oppose a nation that is sacrificing its all for Islam. They will realize this. However, we should also pay attention to issues. That is the Satanic behavior of the psyche.

It is possible that a pious man, well-known for his piety, could have a part of his heart stolen by Satan, thus rendering all his piety meaningless. It is possible that in all you gentlemen who sit in the Majlis, and I expect you would agree, despite all the efforts you make in service of Islam, the tendency to do evil might have remained. You should judge your own actions and allow others to judge you. It is possible that the revolution guards and these commanders of the revolution guards, with all the efforts they make in the service of Islam, may unconsciously have evil dwelling at the bottom of their hearts, and one day they may discover that their work had the hand of Satan in it.

You people, who have responsible positions in this Islamic Republic, the envoys and ambassadors who go abroad where there is more expectation, the revolution guards, all the law enforcement and military forces who serve at home and the respected deputies that serve in the Majlis, everyone, the judiciary and the executive powers, should protect themselves. They should be aware that they have reached a position where they are being watched by the world powers, and the daily opposition and machinations of these big powers are the proof of your capabilities. If you had had no power they would not have stood against you. They note that here there is strength, but this force is not the strength of my arms, yours, or that of the people. It is the power of God, the power of Islam, the power of faith, that has done this work. It is faith that makes you sacrifice for Islam. It is faith again that makes our dear ones stand in battle until they achieve martyrdom. So long as this faith is conserved and this covenant with Islam is preserved, no harm can come to you.

We should pay attention to the fact that today we are in a state of war. It is both a political and a military war. We are, today, at war with all the world powers and their subjects, that is, they attack us and we are on the defensive.

It should be very clear to you that today we are in a state of war and in a state of defense. If, God forbid, we let down our guard, a thing like Israel, God forbid, may attack us, and if we let down our guard, we will be defeated.

We should now prepare for that event. So far all we have done was for defense. Even now, when Saddam is claiming he has nothing to do with the Iranian cities, towns like Abadan and certain other of our cities are being shelled every day. They are bombed, shelled from outside and places are being destroyed. People are being killed. We should defend these Muslims and we should defend this Islamic state. Our defense must go as far as the needs of defense dictate. This depends on the strength of united, strong Hezbollahi youth who should fill the ranks and go and complete the task before them, God willing, quickly, [cheers] so that later they can go after that enemy, who is bigger, more evil -- if there can be a person more evil than Saddam -- such as Begin and others like him.

Gentlemen, we are in the middle of the journey. Our revolution is still moving forward. We must watch it. All must think of this. The gentlemen representing the people must also remember that we are in the middle of journey. If there is a need for the deputies to go to the warfront and advise the people, they should choose whether to make a pilgrimage or to make a visit, which is also essential, to the warfront to advise the persons there and give them encouragement. [chants]

For the past few days I have been repeatedly informed that because of the intentions of some to go on pilgrimages, the country is becoming paralyzed. Certain Majlis deputies, numbering nearly 40 or more, are intending to go. Albeit, they have an excuse. As Mr Hashemi said, this is their vacation time. But we must consider if we really have any holidays these days. [crowd laughter] Can we, in our country's present state, afford to have holidays?

Some members of the Judiciary Council also intend to go. Similarly, most members from the Council of Guardians also intend to go. Also other groups. If going to Mecca is necessary, no one can stop them. But there is a higher duty than this, the defense of Islam, which has priority over all other duties.

If there is a more loftier obligation, it is the safeguarding of the glory of Islam, for which we shall cast all other duties aside. I mentioned earlier to the gentlemen present here that the killing of one noble soul is worse than all the major sins, even blasphemy.

These gentlemen should ponder this themselves. They are learned people. They are concerned with problems, although there are some problems which I do not want to mention, that are a cause for apprehension.

Please consider whether it is proper for those who are not obligated, considering the condition our country is in, to escape to the house of God with all its blessing. Do these gentlemen consider it appropriate to suspend all activity in our country? Suppose it causes some loss to our country, apart from these other fires of hell [as heard] that exist? Do consider your motive for going on a pilgrimage. Is it to attain the sublime blessings? Which recompense is greater, service to Muslims or gaining the blessings of the pilgrimage? Which is greater for the glory and brilliance of Islam?

Acquiring knowledge is one of the duties essential for all. But if we are ever in need of scholars or talented people who should set aside their studies and go to the fronts to encourage and to guide those who are far from home, this will be more appropriate, and when it is done they can return to their studies.

All religious scholars at present see that they cannot make the country go on the path of Islam as it should and no one else can do it either, since we tried and did not succeed. These gentlemen, I know it is not their profession and as I said, it is not for the clergymen to take over the government, but isn't it their duty to safeguard Islam? What's wrong with this? Don't you think that among our enlightened people we could find persons who are dedicated and are aware of this? Don't we have some such persons? These gentlemen have such important posts and they are going. Mr Hashemi will go. Mr Khamene'i will also go and all those who are in charge. But what will we do?

Today, with the condition of Iran, the internal and external problems, we cannot perform our duties without them. We will either be pulled toward the United States and communism, the United States and capitalism or communism and the other side. And it is essential to protect ourselves. What are we going to answer to God, to the martyrs who have fought for Islam and to those persons who are now disrupting work? What answer will we give them? Those who think in the Islamic way, those who are Muslims, they do not compare this Islamic Republic that we have in Iran with the conditions which prevailed earlier. They do not recognize the country which could not, until now, make everything 100-percent Islamic, not because it didn't want to, but because it could not. However, it has progressed more toward Islam than any other government and has become so Islamic.

When you see this army, these revolution guards, these troops, the Mobilization, this country, in the heat of 60-70 degrees in Khuzestan, in the suffocating desert, you will see our dear youths toiling with divine succor and without complaining.

I, who am sitting here, have not heard a single complaint so far that we should not, for example, go to war. Instead they come every day with eager faces and ask to go to be martyred. With this change which has come about, these gentlemen who sit on one side and create problems do not think that they should do anything in this country where a revolution has taken place and which is still in the throes of revolution. You should be ahead of the time of the holy prophet because in his time there were the same problems. These gentlemen should decide whether they are going according to Islam or in the opposite direction.

Those who are sitting and have not done anything for the Islamic Republic so far should contemplate this matter.

They created obstructions, they did not do any work. These enlightened people are like that and the reactionaries are like that. [laughter] Some of them did not lift a finger, as you know, for the movement. They opposed it as well. [passage indistinct]

Conditions in Iran are now such that many centers of corruption have been uprooted; they do not count these. Wine shops were as plentiful as water; these were closed and cannot do anything now. So many things existed in the government and the Majlis. Anyone who saw the Majlis then could have understood the state of affairs, and can see the change now.

Those persons who have run away abroad and issue communiques and are at war with themselves are trying to harm us. They are so noble that they inflict harm in the bazaars, schools and everywhere. We should not do anything against the will of God. We have a republic now. We did not do anything without God's will. It is God who is the master of our destiny; otherwise, who could have mobilized the whole country, from those infants who have just learned to speak to those old men who were sleeping in their beds? Where did you see that the Sunni and Shi'ite brothers go to the same school? [sentence as heard] Who can answer this?

In conclusion, we should always have God in mind and we should know that one day we will all be in His presence and we are all responsible for our actions. This we should remember. Once we realize this, the Majlis will improve. By the grace of God, it is good already and it will become better. The guards, police, all will become better and all will work for the dear nation with dedication, and Islam, God willing, will progress.

May God give you success, so that we may be the servants of Islam, of the needy who, in the course of history, have always been deprived. They should not be deprived any more. The government should pay more attention to the farflung areas and should assess their needs. May God grant you all success and to us as well, God willing, to us who are at your service. Blessings of God be upon you.

KHAMENE'I ON REASONS FOR MOVE INTO IRAQ

LD311148 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Excerpts] The Central News Unit reports that President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, head of the Supreme Defense Council, today, the third day of his stay in Mashhad, took part in the combined morning ceremonies of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the morning parade ground of the 77th Division of the victorious army of Khorasan and delivered an important speech about the reasons why the combatants of Islam entered Iraqi territory. Referring to the performance of the combative forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran at the battlefronts, Mr Khamene'i said:

[Begin recording] We cannot watch the enemy gathering its forces behind our borders and pounding Abadan and Khorramshahr repeatedly, every day. This enemy does not understand any other language but force. It is not wise to try and seek peace and compromise when dealing with it. Future generations will not forgive us for this naivete. We will go as far as it takes to silence the enemy's artillery fire. We will push the enemy back as far as it takes to ensure a healthy life for our citizens living along the borders. We will not only say these words.

The first people who have understood this fact are the millions of Muslims residing in Iraq itself. Today we are fighting in their interest. That is to say that it is in their interests too. If we say that the Baghdad regime should fall and that we will not be satisfied with a change of pawns in the hated regime it is because of this regime's aggressive, bullying and imposing nature. This is not an interference in the internal affairs of others. This is defending the security of the greatest and the most powerful country of the region, namely Iran, and defending all the Muslim countries of this huge and sensitive region.

Our condition on the fronts is,thank God, very good. We have the initiative. As we have said on many other occasions, we are ready to crush the enemy at any point along this long border and we will do so.

The power and combat capability of our armed forces is such that no matter what equipment and personnel backing is given to our enemy it will not be able to resist us. We have said before that, in the Persian Gulf region and the Middle East, those who continue helping our enemy even after the truth is revealed, are at war with us. We consider them as countries at war. Almighty God has promised us victory and this victory is not far off. [end recording]

Mr Khamene'i left Mashhad for Tehran this afternoon.

TEHRAN: FURTHER ATTACKS WILL BE LAUNCHED

GF312059 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Before talking about the developments and the horizons of war, we have to refer to the concept and the meaning of war from the point of view of our Islamic country. War is struggle and defense of Islam and justice in addition to hoisting the flag of Islam and defending the land of Islam. War is in self-defense and is a repulsion of aggression, whatever its source. In accordance with the second concept of fighting, the soldiers of Islam fought in the battles of early Islam and in the battles of the great Islamic conquest. According to this very concept, the Islamic forces of Iran fight to defend the land of Islam, to repulse aggression and to recover rights.

In brief, the war launched by Saddam against Iran is an all-out war that has destroyed villages and cities, innocent people and economic installations. It is a war which the Islamic forces fought with faith and which the aggressor Iraqi forces fought with conventional weapons. This all-out war is continuing, while the balance of power has changed to favor Iran. In this war, Iranian cities were shelled with surface-to-surface missiles and bombarded with artillery and aircraft, as in Dezful, Abadan, Kermanshah and Ahvaz. In this war, whole towns were destroyed, such as Khorramshahr, Abadan, Hoveyzeh and Bostan.

In such a war, matters and operations which draw the attention of the media become ridiculous according to political and military logic. A warplane, for instance, may break the sound barrier or a scurrying warplane may strafe a distance economic installation. Is there any sense in such actions? Threatening to strafe an economic installation or sending a warplane to speedily overfly certain areas of the other side are threatening actions which preceed wars and may not lead to war if the other side feels that taking part in a war would be very costly.

Such actions may also lead to the breakout of war. In both cases such matters suit the state of war or the postwar period. The method [words indistinct] war as a threat. Nowadays, after the elapse of more than 2 years since the start of a devastating and costly war, and after the framework of the ultimate picture has become clear, following the collapse of the Iraqi forces and the transfer of the war to the depths of Iraqi territory, the sending of a warplane to break the sound barrier over Iran or threatening to hit an economic installation is an extremely ridiculous and strange action.

War developments indicate that what will take place in the near future will be decisive and final. Regardless of the hallucinations of Saddam, his military leadership and the meaningless threats, which reflect total bankruptcy, all the indications are that the Islamic blow is coming. The headquarters of the Karbala' operations, which operate in the south and which achieved victories in Shush, Dezful, the liberation of Khuzestan and Khorramshahr and the victories of the Ramadan Operation, will not be the only headquarters in the next battles. There are also the An-Najaf Operations headquarters in Qasr-e Shirin and the Hamzah Operations headquarters in eastern and northwestern Iran.

The Iraqi forces which failed in confronting the operations of the Karbala' headquarters must now face the operations of the An-Najaf and Hamzah headquarters. The situation east of Basra is likely to be repeated east of Baghdad, east of Al-'Amarah and Kut and in the whole of eastern Iraq. The liberation of Iraq from the injustice of Saddam and his regime can only be achieved through advancing along all the fronts in order to eliminate the Iraqi clique which rules in Baghdad, liberate the holy shrines and begin the march to liberate Jerusalem, Lebanon, the Golan Heights and Jordan. In order to liberate all the holy shrines, the Islamic forces will advance in vast numbers which Saddam, his aides and those who stand by him will never be able to confront. Our Islamic forces will advance along all the fronts in order to liberate the holy shrines.

MILITARY SAID TO OPPOSE PLAN FOR NEW ATTACKS

GF312108 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Colonel Sayyad Shirazi, commander of the ground forces, yesterday, after a meeting with Hoseyn Musavi, the prime minister of the regime, told reporters that the Iranian forces intend to mount a strong, new offensive against Iraq. It should be recalled that in the army, certain commanders, and nearly all officers and NCO's of the three services, are against a new attack and the escalation of war. This is because they know that the continuation of this war will mean nothing but poverty, famine and a pitiable death.

The clergymen, however, in order to continue their regime, want more war. The idea behind keeping the military busy in this (?fascist) war which (?has no precedent in history) is apparent. However, the Iranian people now accept no excuses in favor of war. They also know that while this regime remains in power, the bloody war, poverty, disease, famine and savagery will continue.

ROME PAPER: ESCALATION IN WAR ANTICIPATED

PM311205 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 26 Aug 82 p 10

[Dispatch by "Persio," pseudonym of "authoritative and informed observer, resident in Tehran": "Khomeyni's Army Wants To Blitz Iraq"]

[Excerpts] Tehran, 25 August -- "Ever since the start of the war, Iraq has been trying to destroy Khark, but Iran's defense is very strong and has managed to repel more than 10 attacks. Even the long-range guns have not damaged it." This is the mocking reply of Hashemi-Rafsanjani, spokesman for the Iranian Supreme Defense Council, to the Iraqi threats to sink any ship approaching the Iranian ports on the northwest of the Persian Gulf -- Bushehr and Bandar-e Khomeyni, but above all Khark Island, the terminal where almost all Iran's oil exports are loaded.

Ever since the first major Iranian counteroffensives last fall, it has been unclear what the Iraqis were waiting for before attacking strategic tragets in Iran, thus easily creating a crisis for an economically unstable regime. It is true that the air force did make some sporadic attacks, succeeding in damaging, among other things, the north-south oil pipeline essential for the country's life. The prevalent impression among observers in the Iranian capital, however, was that a kind of gentlemen's agreement existed between the two countries to avoid destroying each other's vital economic structures.

The troop movements of the past few days in the various centers of Khuzestan Province suggest that Iranian military leaders have not yet lost hope of breaching enemy lines in this area -- this time probably by trying to cut through Iraq's north-south axis without attacking Basra. The other idea now apparently being considered in Tehran is that of an attack much further north, in the direction of the Kirkuk oilfield -- the most important in the country.

Be that as it may, both alternatives would constitute major evolution in the conflict toward a total war between the two regimes. Indeed, this escalation seems to have been decided on already in Baghdad, though it is not clear whether the intention behind it was to force the Iranians to fight according to more conventional styles or to thoroughly exploit the burst of nationalism prompted by the Iranian neighbor's invasion attempt.

It is said in government circles in Tehran that when, early last month, military chiefs told Khomeyni of the thousands of casualties that should be expected from "Operation Ramadan," he asked approximately how many. He was told 10,000-20,000, at which he replied with satisfaction: "I forecast 400,000-500,000!"

ARMED FORCES JOINT STAFF COMMUNIQUE NO 1,033

LD311738 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Communique No. 1,033 of the Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran]

[Text] In His exalted name. On the occasion of the auspicious birthday of the eighth imam, 'Ali, son of (Musa Reza), the personnel of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran offer their congratulations to the lord of the era, may God hasten his lofty advent, to his righteous deputy, Imam Khomeyni, and to the martyr-rearing Islamic nation.

During the past 24 hours, exchanges of fire continued on all battlefronts between the forces of Islam and Saddam's misled mercenaries. The continuous pounding fire of our alert warriors has resulted in a decrease in enemy activities, including the building of earthworks, digging ditches and trenches, planting minefields and reconnaissance operations on a large part of the battlefronts.

Our combative personnel destroyed four slit trenches of the Saddamists and killed a number of their troops. Artillery fire by Saddam's mercenaries on Abadan wounded several of our Abadani compatriots and set fire to a secondary school.

The powerful warriors of the ground forces continued pounding the Saddamist positions and fortifications inside Iraqi territory and inflicted considerable losses on the enemy. Several Saddamists were killed.

Exchanges of fire on western fronts resulted in the destruction of 1 ammunition dump and 13 military vehicles of the enemy and supply movements of the Iraqi Armed Forces were halted.

Iraqi planes, flying at high altitudes, appeared in the sky over the war zones several times, but were forced to flee by the fire of our air defense units and fighter planes of the air force.

[Signed] The Joint Staff of the Armed Forces of the Islamic Republic of Iran

KURDS REPORTEDLY KILL KORDESTAN GUARDS COMMANDER

GF301734 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] [Words indistinct] (?Musa Kazemi), the revolution guards commander of Kordestan region, and the former governor of Paveh (?were) killed in a heavy clash with Kurdish guerrillas.

According to reports, clashes in Kordestan continue. Khomeyni's lie-disseminating radio continues to report the capture of villages and the murder of people. (?Even though in the fighting in the past several days in villages around Takab), 12 Kurdish guerrillas were reported killed and 5 wounded, Khomeyni has not mentioned the number of the Hezbollahi mercenaries killed.